

SLAVERY IN GENERAL

DRAWER 10D

ATTITUDES ABOUT SLAVERY

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Slavery

Attitudes about Slavery

Slavery

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

When slaves are purchased by the planters, they are generally marked on the breast with a red hot iron.



Another method in which the poor victims are placed to be flogged.



August 2: 1759 To summoning two Magistrates one not at home
and four free holders one Evidence a^t 7/6^p - - 2-5-0
To taking up two Negroes & summoning one d^o - 1-2-6
as Evidence -
To whipping & branding one Negro a^t 2/6^p - 2-0-0
To mileage for the same thirty six miles 5^p - 17-6
7-4-0
The a Court a court is proved on by John Damer & Co



That the Southern Mutual Insurance Company, in consideration of a sum of Five dollars, of one dollar monthly, given to said Company by Thomas C. Newer for the sum of Twenty seven Dollars ⁵⁰/₁₀₀ less thirds of which has been paid in Cash and enclosed the same.

DO INSURE THE LIVES OF THE WITHIN NAMED SLAVE OR SLAVES, belonging to Thomas C. Newer of Memphis in the State of South Carolina in the amount set opposite his, her or their names, as below, viz:

	Names	Age.	Amount	Names	Age.	Amount
(Sole)	<u>Louisa</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>\$400.</u>			
	<u>Harriet</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>\$500.</u>			

Amounting to the total sum of Nine hundred. Dollars, for the term of One year from the date of this Policy.

And the said Company do hereby promise to pay to the said Thomas C. Newer within sixty days after due proof of the death of the above named Slaves, (if the death shall occur within the time for which this Policy shall be effected) the amount insured in this Policy, and set opposite the name or names of the deceased:

Benefit, always, (and it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this Policy) that if the application signed by the said Thomas C. Newer and dated July 7th 1892 shall be in any respect fraudulent or untrue, or if the said slave or slaves, or any of them shall die by him, her or their own hands, or by intemperance, or by the hands of justice, or in the violation of law, or by or in consequence of a mob, a riot, a foreign invasion, a civil war, or an insurrection, or any military or usurped power, or by the mistreatment or neglect of the owner, or of any person to whom he, she or they may be entrusted, or if the said slave or slaves, or any of them, are now, or shall be hereafter insured in any other Company, without the written consent of this Company, or shall be lapsed or be kidnapped, or shall, without the written consent of the said Company, either be sold or given to a new owner, or be removed one hundred miles from their present residence, or be employed in a more hazardous occupation than their present one, or if, in case of the sickness of the said slave or slaves, or any of them, he, she or they shall fail to receive all due and proper care, promptly and without delay, or if this Policy shall be assigned, without the written consent of the said Company; then, and in all such cases, the said Company shall not be liable to pay the sum insured and set opposite the name or names of the said slave or slaves, deceased, or any part thereof, and this Policy, so far as relates to such payment, shall be utterly void. And it is further agreed, that the said Company shall not be bound to pay more than three-fourths of the value of such of the said Slaves as may die during the continuance of this Policy; and that the said slave or slaves are subject to the lien created by the charter of the said Company.

In witness whereof, the said Company, etc., by their President and Secretary and by C. J. Elford signed this Policy at Memphis SC this 7th day of July 1892, one thousand, eight hundred and ninety-two.

Henry H. H. H. President
Alfred Spaulding Secretary
C. J. Elford Agent

The State of South Carolina.

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That *I* *claimed*
Long of *Greenville District* in said State
 for and in consideration of the sum of

Seven hundred and seventy five Dollars
 to me in hand paid, at and before the sealing and delivery of these presents,
 by *Thomas Mc Gower*

(the receipt whereof *I* do hereby acknowledge,) have bargained and sold,
 and by these presents do bargain, sell and deliver to the said *Thomas Mc*

Gower one *Negro Woman Harriet* aged
 about *thirty three* years, whom I do hereby
 warrant to be sound in body and mind
 and to be a slave

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said *negro woman Harriet*

unto the said *Thomas Mc Gower* his.

Executors, Administrators and Assigns: to him and his only proper use and
 behoof forever.

In Witness Whereof, *I* have hereunto set my Hand and Seal
 dated at *Greenville S.C.* on the *seventeenth* day
 of *September* in the year of our Lord one thousand eight
 hundred and *fifty one* and in the *75th* year
 of the Independence of the United States of America.

Sealed and Delivered, in

the presence of

Thos. Wilson.
Aug. Andrew

David Long
13 18 51

(S)

EVENING TRANSCRIPT

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCT. 19, 1859.

SECOND EDITION.

THE INSURRECTION IN VIRGINIA. We have at last some definite information of this sanguinary outbreak. Capt. John Brown, of Kansas, known as "Ossawatimie" Brown, from his participation in an encounter at Ossawatimie, with a dozen or more misguided followers, conceived the idea of capturing the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, and with the stands of arms there to be found, to organize a slave insurrection, which should free Maryland and Virginia. The idea was so far carried into execution that the armory was taken, with comparative ease it would seem, but the impossibility of organizing a rising of the slaves soon manifested itself. The proceedings of the insurgents aroused the country, military were despatched to the scene of the lawless outburst, and the rebellion was speedily subdued, after some damage to property, and many valuable lives had been sacrificed. It was an insane and villainous scheme, from first to last, and Capt. Brown and his confederates, whose lives will pay or have paid the forfeit for their desperate attempt at revolution, will meet with little sympathy at the north. Captain Brown is one of those reckless characters, which the anarchical state of affairs that once existed in Kansas threw to the surface of society in that territory. He had one son killed, and another terribly injured, by the hands of marauders that infested the new territory at an early period. Since these occurrences he is represented to have been a monomaniac in his hatred of the South and the Southern men, and hence the recent rash and mad efforts to revolutionize some of the border slave states.

This affair will create a deep feeling throughout the North. The people of the free States will frown upon every indication, from whatever quarter it may come, looking to an invasion of the rights of the South. He must greatly misconceive the tone of public sentiment, who supposes that even the men of Massachusetts can look calmly on, and not severely condemn measures which can only result in bloodshed and confusion. The position of the great majority of the North, as we understand it, is that of pure, undiluted State's rights. If the South want slavery, let them have it; but let the "institution" be confined to that part of the Union, and never receive special national protection.

The policy of the founders of the Republic, and the acts of the administration of Washington, John Adams and Jefferson, in regard to this vexed question, furnish the only safe and prudent course for imitation. The only hope for the removal of the giant evil is to be found in the operation of those silent yet potent laws of political economy, which must ultimately determine the question between free and slave labor. In such a contest, barbarism has but slight cause for hope, in this age of invention, enlightenment and progress. The census of 1860 will make many revelations upon this subject—and a contrast between the new Free States of the Northwest, and the oldest Slave States, will doubtless show that our fathers did not err in their devotion to Liberty, and were wise in the adoption of the famous ordinance which forever dedicated the Northwest to Freedom.

Violent measures to introduce slavery into the fair and unpolluted territories of the central part of the Union, have signally failed of their object, and no sane person would expect any other result from similar violence in efforts made to free the oppressed in the slave States. Such projects as the one now under consideration will never be sanctioned by any true and intelligent lover of his country. At this time, the moral and religious agencies of our land are performing a mighty work in society, that will yield a harvest of good fruits in due season, and show themselves as

powerful for justice and right in our day and generation as they have been in past times. These instrumentalities now engage the attention of the noblest men in the world, and around them the best hopes of the patriot and the Christian are centered.

The value of the Union to the slave States is suggested by these occurrences, and the impolicy of spreading the "peculiar institution" over new districts, is seen in the excitement a dozen reckless and fanatical men may produce in a society where the relation of master and slave exists. Our limited space does not allow so full a discussion of this aspect of the question as we could wish. The New York Evening Post closes an able article on the general subject with these suggestive words:

How insane the policy which would recruit and extend this form of social existence, even while it is becoming unmanageable as it is! Open the gates to the slave trade, cry the southerners, who are as great fanatics as Brown; tap the copious resources of Africa, let new millions of blacks be added to the enormous number that now cultivate our fields, let the alarming disproportion between them and the whites be increased; it is a blessed institution, and we cannot have too much of it! But while they speak the tocsin sounds, the blacks are in arms, their houses are in flames, their wives and children driven into exile or killed, and a furious servile war stretches its horrors over years. That is the blessed institution you ask us to foster, and spread, and worship, and for the sake of which you even spout your impotent threats against the grand edifice of the Union!

11/12/1899

ARRIVAL OF ANOTHER CAPTURED SLAVER.
The American barque Emily, alleged to be engaged in the slave trade, arrived at this port yesterday from the coast of Africa, where she was captured by the United States sloop-of-war Portsmouth. On reaching this city, Lieutenant Stephens, who was transferred to the prize from the corvette, repaired to the office of the U. S. Marshal, laid the facts of the case before him, and subsequently reported his presence in the States to the Secretary of the Navy, whose orders he awaits relative to the disposition of the vessel. For the present the Emily, which is a tidy, somewhat rakish looking craft, has been hauled into the stream off the Brooklyn Navy Yard, where she will remain until further orders.

This is the fourth slaver captured within a few months by the United States men-of-war on the Coast of Africa, while the British cruisers, three times more numerous, have only caught one during the same period. The Marion recently took three in succession and sent them home. The Portsmouth has been but a few months in commission, having sailed in June from Portsmouth, N. H. Lieut. Stephens reports the health of such vessels of the squadron as he had met previously to his departure to be good. The new Commander-in-Chief, in distributing the ships under his command, had carefully studied the situations of latitudes in which slavers "do most congregate," and the Portsmouth's initiatory movements prove the accuracy of his judgment. The officers of the Portsmouth are:

Commander, J. Calhoun; Lieuts., Reilly, Stephens, (who brought home the Emily,) Parrett, Crabb and Abbott; Doctors, Maxwell and Temple; Purser, Bates; Lieut. of Marines, J. L. Broome.

The Emily sailed from this port last June, clearing for Ambriz, Capt. Lindsey. She belongs to L. B. Gager, and is 300 tons burden. [N. Y. Jour. Com., 11th.

THRILLING INCIDENT. *A Conductor on a Cow Catcher.* As one of the freight trains coming east rounded a sharp curve near Barre Siding, a station about 12 miles west of Huntington, the engineer saw a small child sitting in the middle of the track, playing, unconscious of its danger. He instantly whistled down brakes and reversed his engine, but the weight of the train and the high speed at which it was running rendered it impossible to stop before reaching the child, which must inevitably have been crushed to death. In this emergency, when most men would have stood paralyzed with horror, the conductor of the train, Daniel McCoy, with steadiness of nerve that has few parallels, ran to the front of the engine, crawled down on the cow catcher, and holding himself with one hand, leaned as far forward as possible, and as he approached the child, with a sweeping blow of the other he threw it off the track. It was the work of an instant and required a steady hand and cool head to accomplish it, but he was equal to the emergency. The train was immediately stopped, and on going back the child was found lying at the foot of a small embankment, some twenty or thirty feet from the track of the road, alive and kicking, but somewhat stunned and bruised. The child belonged to a farmer named Neil, residing immediately along the road. [Harrisburg Patriot.

8 Transcripts - 11-14-1859

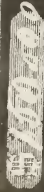
SLAVE INSURRECTIONS AT THE SOUTH. The late Harper's Ferry affair has revived the recollection of previous plots to produce insurrections among the slaves in Southern States. These plots, however, have all been easily crushed. The Charleston plot, in 1822, was, like the late affair, made known to the Secretary of War.

The ringleader of the plot bore the name of Denmark Vesey. He was a free mulatto, cunning, active, restless, and possessing a talent of influencing negroes, which he applied with great dexterity. The leaders, long indulged, held secret meetings, some of which were professedly religious, and the exhorters among them participated in them. They could not be said to complain of oppression, for many of them were trusted and even petted servants in the households of their masters, carrying the keys and enjoying the largest liberty compatible with their station; yet they devised one of the most diabolical plots of blood and murder that ever stained the annals of insurrection. The progress of their trial by a court of magistrates and freeholders was fearful and frightful in the disclosures. It was in evidence that the plan was to murder the masters, appropriate the desirable females to their own brutish uses, burn the city and in the midst of the panic and conflagration seize the ships in port and push for the island of St. Domingo. One of the praying negroes, smitten probably by his conscience, for he had been greatly indulged in the pious and respectable family of his master, gave the clue to the conspiracy, and after a long and full trial, some thirty or forty were sentenced to death, which sentence was thoroughly carried into execution by hanging.

A Novel Affair in Washington.

WASHINGTON, February 12.

The Rev. Henry Highland Garnett, a colored minister, preached in the hall of the House of Representatives to-day, by invitation of the Rev. Dr. Channing, the Chaplain of the House. A large crowd of both white and colored auditors was in attendance, the latter furnishing their own music. This is the first instance of a colored clergyman preaching at the Capitol, and occasions much comment in all circles.



March
Petersburg, Va., *January 16th* 1865.

We Promise to Pay to

Dr. C. W. Doyle

the sum of *One hundred Eighty Dollars* to be paid
in two equal instalments, as follows: *Seventy five* dollars
on the 1st day of July, 186*4*, and *Seventy five* dollars
on the 1st day of January, 186*5*, for the hire of

Frederick Minerva
a NEGRO SLAVE, named

for the year 186*4*

said Slave to be comfortably clothed and humanely treated—during the year to be furnished with two pair of shoes, and to be returned at Christmas next, well clad, and furnished with *Blanket from subscription at Virginia*

or a Handkerchief

; and it is further understood that the said Slave *W* not to be carried out of the State of Virginia.

Witness our hands and seals the day and year above.

Miss Mary C. P. P.
SEAL
SEAL
SEAL
SEAL
SEAL
SEAL
SEAL
SEAL

Shew Maria E. McLean on
to \$1 and \$150.00
for E. W. Boyle's
of Museum part of
1865.

Ad

Dr. J. P. Clark
Paid the 14th day of March
1865
\$37.00
A. Brown
by Dr. J. P. Clark

LINCOLN AND LOVEJOY.

A Graphic and Interesting Chapter from the Biography of the Martyr President.

The Dark Days When to Denounce Slavery Was to Court Violent Death.

Lovejoy's Heroic Pioneer Work and Sacrifice of Life Which Made Lincoln's Triumph Possible.

The biographers of Abraham Lincoln who, in the *Century* magazine, are giving such a broad view of the character of the man, as well as the work of the politician and statesman, have a clearer conception of their duty toward history than their predecessors in the same line of thought and effort. Much as has been written and spoken of Lincoln and the tremendous responsibilities which fell upon him no biographer or historian coming before these latest ones has served to throw any strong light upon the creative forces of which the martyr President was the creature. For Lincoln, like every other great man called into action by a crisis of human history was the result of political evolution. He was evolved from conditions long precedent to his appearance as the champion of resistance to the domination and extension of slavery. He came upon the field thrice armed and heavily armored for the many years in which his trenchant blade had been tempered in

THE FIRES OF HATE AND TREASON, and in which the hand of time had wrought the massive strength of his helmet to proof against the assaults of his enemies. Who kindled these fires, and where were they first seen, and whose hand struck the first resounding blow upon the responsive metal which the years wrought into such an invulnerable shield? It is not enough to see the emancipator come armed into the tournament, or to rejoice in his victories. We must know, if possible, the minute conditions which gave the world such a valorous and heroic knight, and feel, as he felt, the burning sense of wrong, injustice, and oppression which nerved his hand and gave such superhuman strength to his strong arm. To learn these things it has heretofore been necessary to travel outside the beaten track of history and biography, but Messrs. Hay and Nicolay are giving us glimpses of the prehistoric events of Lincoln's life events so momentous in their influence upon his later career that they may well be regarded as of greater importance than those in which he was the central figure from 1853 to 1865. For the earlier history was that which shaped the destiny of the man; the latter that which was but the fulfillment of that destiny. If the earlier events are, perhaps, all we have a right to expect from his biographers, and

THEY SAVE ALL THE PURPOSE of indicating to the inquiring mind the means of prosecuting further search in any given direction. The old slave trail across the State is outlined in vigorous coloring; the Vandalia section is shown, in which Lincoln, shrewd and wary, and far the most of going too far ahead of the people, was one of two representatives who united in a public protest explanatory of, if not apologetic for, their failure to vote for a bill dictated by the slave for a "free state" at Alton.

Perhaps no other event will strike the future historian of the rise and fall of the slave power in America as transcending this in importance and far-reaching influence. It was the first energetic and armed resistance to the despotism of slavery in this country. The conditions which made it possible can be readily understood in view of the biographer's narrative of Lincoln's at-

tempt to justify a vote against a slave measure on other grounds than the abstract moral principle involved. No doubt his conscience and sense of moral responsibility was his justification to himself for the course he had taken. But, as, later in his life, we see the same shrewd avoidance of precipitating any issue until the people, by natural process of advancement, should reach the point of safety. In his view the time was not then ripe for aggression, and would not be until

THE MORAL SENSE OF THE NORTH was aroused. At that time the sentiment against slavery was disorganized and irresolute all over the North, and when the more remote free States of the Atlantic seaboard were quiescent under all the outrages of the traffic it is not to be wondered at that Illinois, bounded by slave States on the west and south, with human beings transferred across her territory as chattels by the slave-holding enclaves from Virginia and Kentucky the way to Missouri, with her people brought into direct and social relations with slave-owners, and social all the feudal glare and glamour of the institution, should be prostrate before it. That it was so there is no room to doubt. A strong pro-slavery party existed in the State itself, composed of the Kentucky and Virginia emigrants who had settled in large numbers in the southern counties, and who, although never slave owners themselves, were infatuated with the Southern aristocracy, and became in shape new homes, the pronounced partisans of the South, and the active opponents of all legislation hostile to slave interests. Thus they served the purpose of repressing action by their numerical strength and aggressive action, and of making cautious and conservative every ambitious man who took into account his situation and environment.

SUCH A CONDITION LED UP naturally to the Alton riot. Alton was then a commercial rival of St. Louis, twenty miles below on the Mississippi river. She was the head of navigation for the Southern steamboat lines, and a large discharge and transfer depot doing a large business with the slave States of Missouri, opposite, and surrounded by all the influences and associations which gave slavery its pre-eminence and authority. It was the vast scheme of interests, and the men under consideration in the General assembly at Vandalia, Alton figured as the nucleus of four different lines of railroad projected to traverse the State in many different directions, and as the slave interest was absolute in the control of that body, the Alton people felt that they would sacrifice their opportunity to encourage or even tolerate the expression of anti-slavery views. This was the feeling which animated the men who, whatever their sympathies or affiliations, would, under other circumstances, have sternly opposed the ideas of desperate and lawless acts which culminated in the tragedy of Lovejoy's death. This fact will go far to explain, if not to excuse, the reluctance in reference to the

THE BRUTAL AND BLOODY WORK of the mob. Alton, like the rest of Illinois at that time lived under the shadow of the more anti-slavery men in the business and the circles than any other Illinois town. They had been drawn thither from the New England and Middle States by the commercial advantage the city presented, and its brilliant prospects of growth and advancement. These men, while earnest in their convictions, sought no occasion to force them upon others, but on occasion to the fullness of time the occasion was given that it did come it was a matter of history, and when it came they were infamy.

Lovejoy came to Alton a fugitive. He was at that time the prime of a vigorous intellectual and physical life. Born at Albion, Me., in 1802, he graduated in the theological class at Andover in 1830, and coming West was given the editorial charge of the St. Louis *Observer*, a Presbyterian publication. He was a brilliant and forcible writer, and there was in him, however, a conviction that the editorship of the *Observer* was an ENQUIRER, and the editorial expression of his opinions called down upon him and the *Observer* the wrath of the slave power and of a

section of the church of the doctrines of which the *Observer* was the exponent. Driven from St. Louis by the force of public sentiment, he determined to remove the office to Alton, where, in a proslavery free State, he hoped to find protection in the exercise of his rights. Before the material was shipped the press was partially destroyed by a mob on the St. Louis levee. It was shipped in a broken and dismantled condition, together with the material, and was laid on the Alton wharf on the morning of June 21, 1836. It could not be moved that day, and before noon a mob of about twenty men, led by several of the most pronounced pro-slavery men in the community, seized the press and threw it in the river. This wanton violation of the rights of property aroused the men from the East, and they took possession of their position. With them the question was not one of slavery and anti-slavery, but of freedom and tyranny. A call for a meeting was issued for their signatures and that of a few others to take action

IN DEFENSE OF THE LAWS and against the destruction of property. This meeting was attended by all classes of citizens, and its result was that Lovejoy was "given permission" to reassemble the remains of his press and publish his paper in Alton. He provided that he would abstain from a discussion of the slavery question. Lovejoy, who was present, stated that while he had not come to Alton with any intention of precipitating any discussion on the question of slavery under then existing conditions, he could not then resuming the publication of the paper there or elsewhere, determine what his course should be, if other conditions should arise. The purpose of the meeting, in the full flush of their power, and confident of their ability to maintain the status quo, accepted this statement as a pledge of silence and financial assistance was extended to Mr. Lovejoy in the rehabilitation of his paper by the leaders of the New England colony in Alton. As there was formed around him then a little group of brave and disinterested men who were soon surrounding the figure of the martyr in all the changing vicissitudes which beset his closing career, and most of whom were with him when the hour of final sacrifice came. The survivor of that heroic band is Winthrop Gilman, of Buffalo, who, in all the trying scenes of that crucial time, stood, ever ready to assist and defend the persecuted advocate of freedom. Another friend and counselor, more removed from the immediate field of action, but present in every hour of extremity, was the Rev. David Beecher, then President of the Illinois College at Jacksonville. These two men were the leaders of that Spartan band, and although their names are not an essential part of the historical narrative, the drama would not be complete without this view of these commanding figures on the stage.

The publication of the *Observer* was resumed at Alton in September, 1836. For several months after its re-umption there was no discussion of the slavery question in its columns, but the force and vigor of its editor's work in the emancipation and gave it financial profit and a large degree of influence. In this fact lies the crowning grace of the martyr editor's career. Although he did not, in any case, have any probability, for the beginning a termination to cease in himself, he could not have failed to see that it parture from the policy which had yielded such a gratifying temporal results would have involved the sacrifice of property. He knew too well the temper of the day and despotism to doubt the vengeance it would visit upon him. To take such a step was to put the case of the above every justice of personal interest. Such a sense of duty was the motive of Lovejoy's course at that time. Dr. Beecher himself testified in a book entitled, "The History of the Alton Riots," published

A FEW MONTHS AFTER LOVEJOY'S DEATH. "A change gradually took place," says Dr. Beecher, "the cause of which were these, as stated to me by himself, a more investigation of the subject from a deep sense of his own responsibility. A discovery of the atrocious misrepresentations of the views of the abolitionists which were universally and diligently circulated, and to which he had once given credence; a clear conviction of the unworthy and cowardly character of the most violent opposers; a discovery of the most of moderate men had no plan for doing anything, and that they did nothing but hinder and that they decided to take a distinct recognition of its fatal influence on the church,

especially as illustrated in the proceedings of the General Assembly.

These were the causes, but not the occasion of his re-enlistment in the army of universal freedom. The obnoxious conditions to which he had referred in the public meeting which gave him permission to publish his paper in Alton, were coming to be clearly recognized. The refusal of Congress to make any operative use of the "Alberton Gag," to concede to the abolitionists the right of petition; the tyranny of the legislative processes employed to suppress agitation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; and the proposed organization of an "Illinois Anti-slavery Society," were the events which, crowding thick and fast upon him, forced him into action. These events served, also, the purpose of arousing to fury the passion of the slavery men, and when, in its issue of June 29, 1837, the *Observer* published the call for signatures to a petition

FOR THE RESTRICTION OF SLAVERY in the District of Columbia, the storm burst. That day Lovejoy was pursued by a mob in the streets, and that night his home was stoned by it. His response was the publication in the next issue of a call for expressions of opinion from "the friends of human liberty" regarding a convention to be held in Alton for the organization of an Illinois anti-slavery society. The following day a call was issued asking the people of Alton "to meet at the public market July 11, 1837." This call was put forth by the pro-slavery men for the purpose of getting a public expression against the obnoxious journal. Right well did the meeting serve the purpose of its originators and promoters, for incendiary speeches were followed with resolutions denunciatory of the *Observer* and its course, and the appointment of a committee to wait upon Lovejoy and apprise him of "the sense of the meeting." The committee was prompt in the performance of its duty, and the editor was equally prompt in his response, for in his next issue under the editorial heading "What are the Doctrines of the Anti-slavery men?" he calmly and without passion argued that he had exercised none but legal rights. It was characteristic of all his editorial expressions, that they were free from passion and prejudices, and this one was more than usually calm and judicial in tone. It therefore stands as a testimony to the bigotry and intolerance of the Alton mob that the night following its appearance the types which gave it form and the press which gave it expression were alike destroyed.

THE MOB SPIRIT

was now thoroughly aroused. When the convention to organize a State anti-slavery society met in Alton it was overruled and discontinued. Pleading to Upper Alton it was pursued there by a mob which laid brief and unavailing siege to the store-house where the delegates were in session, and which still stands as a monument of those troublous times. When the new press and material with which to continue the publication of the *Observer* arrived, the office was broken open at night and the entire equipment thrown into the river. Another outfit was purchased, and met the same fate. It was now seen that matters were reaching a crisis, and Mr. Beecher, coming down from Jacksonville, after consultation with Lovejoy and his friends, brought together in private meeting the leading business men of the city with a view to securing the adoption of resolutions which he offered, deploring the lawlessness of the mob, demanding the enforcement of law and order, the protection of property and life, and pledging

themselves to preserve the public peace. It is possible that these resolutions might have been adopted if the meeting had not been disrupted by some of the pro-slavery leaders, who, forcing themselves into its deliberations, defeated its object by referring the resolutions to a committee, which was to report at a public meeting a night or two later. That meeting was the

LAST ACT BEFORE THE FINAL TRAGEDY. It met the second night after the conference, and was literally overrun by the mob. The committee reported against the adoption of the Beecher resolutions, substituting in their stead three propositions, one to the effect that it was not expedient to discuss the question of slavery in the public prints, and however strong might be the conviction of its necessity, one that the citizens of Alton would give no support to any anti-slavery religious papers, and one to the effect that the *Observer* must not continue under Mr. Lovejoy's control. The report aroused Mr. Lovejoy's friends to energetic protest, but they were overruled. Lovejoy and Beecher were not allowed to speak at all. The controversy waxed warmer as it proceeded, the pro-slavery orators being fierce in their denunciations of Lovejoy and loud in their threats of vengeance for any future offending, if any should occur. It was seen that the object and purpose of the meeting was to send the editor into exile, with death as the alternative of resistance to its mandate. A hush fell upon it as he rose to speak, for it was felt that grave consequences hung upon his words. Mr. Beecher, in reporting the scenes of that night in his later history, says that he was struck with the

SIMILARITY BETWEEN LOVEJOY AND LUTHER before the Diet of Worms, and the emancipation of the nineteenth century spoke instantly did the reformer of the sixteenth. There was not a note of defiance, but a calm and earnest conviction, in his voice—almost a cry of despair at seeing before him a duty which he dared not avoid. Mr. Beecher, from long-hand notes, preserved to posterity nearly all of this remarkable speech. From it the following quotations will give us some prevailing shades.

"If by a compromise is meant that I should cease from doing that which duty requires of me, I can not make it. And the reason is that I fear God more than I fear man. The good opinion of my fellowmen is dear to me, and I would sacrifice anything but principle to obtain it, but when they ask me to surrender to their yoke for me that I fear God more than I fear man, I can not and will not forsake it. * * *

I HAVE COUNTED THE COST and stand prepared freely to offer up my all in the service of God. For, sir, I am fully aware of all the sacrifice I make in here pledging myself to continue this contest to the last (forgive these tears—I had not intended to shed them, and they flow not from myself, but for others) but I am commanded to forsake father and wife and mother and children for Jesus' sake, and as His professed disciple I stand ready to do it. The time for fulfilling this pledge, in my case, it seems to me, has come. Sir, I dare not flee away from Alton. Should I attempt it, I should feel that the angel of the Lord, with his flaming sword, was pursuing me wherever I went. It is because I fear God that I am not afraid of all who oppose me in this city. No, sir; the contest has commenced here, and here it must be finished. Before God and you I here pledge myself to continue it, if need be, till death. If I fall, my grave shall be made in Alton."

The challenge had been made and accepted. The duel soon followed. The fourth and last press for the Alton *Observer* reached its destination Nov. 6, 1837. Amid the threats of the mob it was taken to Godfrey & Gilman's warehouse, and there guarded by about fifty men, for

had driven other men to the support of Lovejoy. No disturbance occurred that night, and on the night following the defending force was materially reduced. About 10 o'clock some of these, seeing no sign of danger, retired, and the garrison was reduced to seven or eight men, Mr. Lovejoy being one of them, and Windsor S. Gilman, Abraham Breatn, J. R. Tanner, Mr. Roff, and one or two others, whose names are lost to history, being his supporters. Before 11 o'clock the building was attacked by a mob, fully armed, which, with triumphant yells, demanded the surrender of the press. When this was refused they charged, and they were doors. Those within opened fire on the besieging party. One of the mob, Lyman Bishop, was killed and two others wounded. The rioters then put iron bars against the walls of the house, and ascending to the roof set fire to the building. The little garrison at once determined on a sortie. The heavy doors were opened and they stepped outside. A brilliant moon was shining, and they were fully exposed to view. A portion of the mob lay concealed behind a lumber pile, and

FROM THAT QUARTER CAME A FIRE, evidently directed at the *Observer*. He was standing a little apart from the others, and was a splendid target for a concealed marksmen. He fell to the ground, and Mr. Gilman picking him up, the party retreated to the second floor, where Lovejoy died a few moments later, without speaking a word. Five balls had entered his body.

By this time the city was aroused by the ringing of alarm bells and the firing of musketry. The civil authorities seemed utterly powerless, and the only official action taken, was when the Mayor and a justice of the peace were sent into the building by the mob to attempt to secure the surrender of the press. Failing in this mission the Mayor informed Mr. Gilman that he could not control the mob, and that the beleaguered men should make an effort to leave the building. When Mr. Roff attempted to do so he was shot and severely wounded. A few minutes later, however, all of the party, with the exception of two who remained

IN CHARGE OF THE MARTYR'S BODY, escaped by the river front, although fired at and pursued by the mob.

This was the first irresistible appeal to the moral sense of the country. The issue was clearly to be seen. A storm of indignation swept over all of the free States of the North. Public meetings were held in all of the great cities. It was at one of these, in Faneuil Hall, Boston, that Wendell Phillips first raised his voice against the iniquity and tyranny of slavery. That voice was never stilled until the curse was abolished, and yet it was but one of a chorus which swelled and rolled until the noise of the multitude came to the waiting and listening ear of Lincoln, and he knew that the hour of action had come. He struck at slavery the instant when the moral force and power of the Nation was in his hands. Perhaps if he had struck sooner he might have failed, as Lovejoy did. But Lovejoy's failure made Lincoln's triumph possible. 1286

LINCOLN REFUSES PARDON
TO A SLAVE-STEALER

Hon. John B. Alley, of Linn, Massachusetts, was made the bearer to the President of a petition for pardon, by a person confined in the Newburyport jail for being engaged in the slave trade. He had been sentenced to five years' imprisonment, and the payment of a fine of one thousand dollars. The petition was accompanied by a letter to Mr. Alley, in which the prisoner acknowledged his guilt and the justice of his sentence. He was very penitent—at least on paper—and had received the full measure of his punishment, so far as it related to the term of his imprisonment, but he was still held because he could not pay his fine. Mr. Alley read the letter to the President, who was much moved by its pathetic appeals; and when he had himself read the petition he looked up and said: "My friend, that is a very touching appeal to our feelings. You know my weakness is to be, if possible, too easily moved by appeals for mercy, and if this man were guilty of the foulest murder that the arm of man could perpetrate I might forgive him on such an appeal; but the man who could go to Africa, and rob her of her children, and sell them into interminable bondage, with no other motive than that which is furnished by dollars and cents, is so much worse than the most depraved murderer, that he can never receive pardon at my hands. No! he may rot in jail before he shall have liberty by any act of mine." A sudden crime, committed under strong temptation, was venial in his eyes, on evidence of repentance; but the calculating, mercenary crime of man-stealing and man-selling, with all the cruelties that are essential accompaniments to the business, could win from him, as an officer of the people, no pardon.

every sentiment of brotherhood, what pleading for righteousness and peace and good will!

"Today the South knows and feels all this. The mists and passions of half a century ago have faded away, and the memory of Lincoln shines like a star in the serene heaven of our union in which it is our brightest link.

The Nation's True Ideal.

"And shall not we of this new century rise as a nation to the ideal of that lofty time of which he became the incarnation—the ideal of a republic not lost in material interests, great and important as they are; not blinded with the glare of prosperity, wide and comforting as it is; not bent on becoming a defiant world power, vital as the responsibilities that come with it; but devoted to righteousness as a people, to the eradication of every root of misery and wretchedness and injustice in our soil and to the elevation of the humblest and poorest and weakest?

"Had he lived, who does not feel that the reunion of the national heart would have far more speedily followed the reunion of political bands.

"To him it was a practical, not a theoretical or sentimental question.

"He did not regard it as worth while to determine nicely whether by their rebellion the confederate states had lost their statehood in the Union or had remained in it.

"We should have been saved the bitter contentions of congress with his successor, and the ship of state would have ridden into safe harbor with no mutiny on board and the captain in command.

"Lincoln, of all Americans, if not of all men, of the 19th century, achieved the most enduring, the greatest and purest fame.

"With neither the culture of Sumner, nor the might of Webster, yet either of them in Lincoln's place you instinctively feel would have fallen below him in the discharge of his trust.

"No doubt his growth upward was largely due to his presidential culture and pruning, and that he was a greater man at its close than at its beginning. And when we speak of him as great we mean great in the general impressive sense. There is a greatness of pure intellect, of pure force, independent of circumstances, like some tall memorial shaft springing from the earth to the sky.

"There is another greatness that is like some mountain-side rich with foliage and verdure, towering above the plain and yet a part of it.

"It is a singular glory of Lincoln that with all his ambition we feel he was true to the profoundest moral instincts.

"God be praised that amid all doubt and in spite of so many crumbling idols there be now and then, aye often, a soul that mounts and keeps its place!"

Archbishop O'Connell, who was to have pronounced the benediction, was unable to come and sent his regrets. The benediction was pronounced by Bishop Mallalieu. The meeting was closed by singing America, in which the audience of course joined, and sent forth a richness of sound which echoed and rung through the great hall.

Just before the closing verse Col. Bradley, holding the Stars and Stripes, and Jeremiah Phillips, a negro soldier, of Post 124, G. A. R., holding the state flag, stepped to the front of the platform, thus bringing to dignified and fine ending an historical occasion and a memorable tribute to Abraham Lincoln.

LINCOLN AND THE NEGRO.

The negroes of Chicago are devoting this week to a celebration of the completion of fifty years of freedom. It was in 1865 that the emancipation amendment to the constitution became effective, declaring that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist in the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction."

SIOUX CITY, IOWA

From the lips of negroes on every side arise paeans of praise for Abraham Lincoln as the emancipator of their race, and justly so, yet how many of them and how many white Americans, indeed, realize how earnestly and how long Lincoln sought to avoid declaring the freedom of the slaves, fearing that violent denunciation of slavery might work against the

preservation of the union, to which he was devoted to the subordination of all things else? Thus, he wrote to Greeley that if he could save the union without freeing any slaves he would do so; if he could save it by freeing all the slaves, he would do that; if he could save it by freeing some and leaving others, he would do that. In other words, what he did about slavery and the colored race he did because he believed it would help to save the union. *"JOURNALIST"*

And Lincoln tried out at least two of his three propositions. He endeavored to save the union without freeing any slaves when, in his first inaugural address, standing, as it were, on the edge of a volcano, he pleaded with the seceded states to come back into the fold, bringing their slaves with them, and assuring them it was not the purpose of his administration to disturb any of their institutions. He tried to save the union by freeing some slaves and leaving others when he issued the proclamation of emancipation liberating slaves in the states that were in rebellion and leaving in bondage slaves in loyal states. At any time from March 4, 1861, to January 1, 1863, any or all of the states in rebellion could have returned to the union with slavery intact. It is plain, then, as Col. McClure points out, in "Lincoln and Men of War Times," that Lincoln did not issue the proclamation of emancipation for the mere sentiment of unshackling 4,000,000 slaves, but to strike a deadly blow at the rebellion in the cause of union. *"JOURNALIST"*

Incidentally, Lincoln did not intend that the freedmen should be given the right of franchise on an equality with whites. Four days before he died he did suggest that suffrage should be conferred upon "the very intelligent and those who served our cause as soldiers," but that was all. It might surprise negroes and others to know it is the much vilified Andrew Johnson to whom the negro is under obligation for the ballot. Gen. Grant explains in his memoirs that with Johnson fighting congress on the one hand and receiving the support of the solid south on the other, in the judgment of congress "it became necessary to enfranchise the negro in all his ignorance," and in spite of the fact that after the war it had been generally

supposed in the north that before the blacks were given the ballot they would be put on probation and given time to prepare themselves for the privileges of citizenship. Gen. Grant admits that he himself was not wholly convinced as to the wisdom of the action of congress and the legislatures in passing the fifteenth amendment, and if he were still alive no doubt Senator Vardaman would be delighted to prove to him that it was one of the mistakes of the ages. Gen. Grant explains, however, that such action "became an absolute necessity because of the foolhardiness of the president and the blindness of the southern people to their own interest."

Lincoln's Acts Gave Slavery Final Blow

Prof. Coupland Traces Reign of Smuggling Up to the Civil War

Efforts made by the British people, having abandoned their own great share in the slave system by the enactments of 1811 and 1838, to secure the abandonment by other peoples, occupied the attention of Professor Reginald Coupland of Oxford University in his sixth Lowell Institute lecture at Huntington Hall last evening.

The first of these efforts was directed against the trade which fed the slave plantations of foreign countries and colonies on the other side of the Atlantic. Some States had, like the British, forsworn the trade before 1811 and others followed suit. In 1804 an act, which had been passed in 1792, to abolish the Danish trade in twelve years, came into force. Sweden enacted abolition in 1813 and Holland in 1814. Similar action, meantime, had been taken in America.

"But all these measures," the professor stated, "could do little to lessen the volume of the transatlantic trade as long as the chief participants, France, Spain and Portugal, continued it."

On the eve of the peace settlement of 1815, eight hundred petitions with nearly a million signatures, called on the House of Commons to try to prevent the post-war renewal of the foreign slave trade, and the House accepted without dividing Wilberforce's motions for strong action at the Congress of Vienna. "Never has a British diplomat taken with him to a great international conference so clear or so strange a mandate as Castlereagh took to Vienna," the speaker remarked.

Indorsed in Principle

The result of the conference was an act expressing concurrence in the principle of abolition, but the precise moment of drastic action was left as a matter of international negotiation. It was evident that only by diplomatic pressure on individual Governments could any real progress be achieved, and for the first thirty years of the peace the British Foreign Office was more occupied with this question than with any other aspect of international affairs.

Though by 1835 laws abolishing the slave trade, with adequate penal provisions, had been adopted by the Powers which had continued to take part in it after 1815, it did not mean the abolition of the trade. On the contrary it grew enormously, and all such laws were merely waste paper as long as they were not enforced. "The plain fact was," the speaker maintained, "that of all the Powers which legally abolished the trade only Britain took the requisite steps to enforce it. The plain fact was, the speaker maintained, "that of all the Powers which legally abolished the trade only Britain took the requisite steps to enforce it. The plain fact was, the speaker maintained, "that of all the Powers which legally abolished the trade only Britain took the requisite steps to enforce it."

Armed with the act of 1811 the British patrol very soon succeeded in driving all British ships out of the trade and, according to the speaker, the entire trade could

have been suppressed if the other maritime Powers had joined in the patrol in proportion to their naval strength. Year after year the British Government pressed for the concession of a "reciprocal right of search."

Freedom of the Seas

Referring to the attitude of the United States, which, at first sight, might seem more surprising. Professor Coupland reviewed the controversy over "the freedom of the seas," and said that it is hardly to be wondered at if the United States proved the most intransigent of all nations on the issue of the "right of search."

"The tenacity of the United States on this issue would have mattered much less, of course, if their Government had succeeded in enforcing their own abolition laws of 1807 and 1815, with their own Navy and police, either on the American or on the African coast. But its efforts in that direction were neither adequate nor continuous. Smuggling slaves from the West Indies into the creeks of Georgia, Florida and Louisiana was still a busy and profitable pursuit long after 1807."

But more may be said, the speaker remarked, for the efficiency of the American law at the African end of the trade. The act of 1819 empowered the President to employ the American Navy for the seizure of American slavers on the coast of Africa or elsewhere. Broadly speaking, however, the American Government's effort was far less forcible and far less consistent than its own naval officers would have wished. "The result of the refusal to permit the British Navy to give the American flag a fuller protection from abuse than the American Navy gave it was a tragic irony—the salvation of the slave trade by the flag of freedom."

Policy of Coercion

It began to seem as if Britain was attempting the impossible. Professor Coupland remarked. The policy of coercion was thus left again to combat the slave trade alone, but there were anti-coercionists who could make a cogent case. Coercion involved the constant harassing, if not bullying, of other nations. It had cost about fifteen million pounds since 1815. The trade had not only increased, but its cruelties had been intensified. The defenders of coercion had their answer. It was not British cruisers that obstructed trade on the African coast, but the incessant warfare caused by slave-raiding.

Then came Palmerston's great work. The service of the preventive squadron was continued without a break. The end came quickly. The number of slaves imported fell to 3000 in 1851, and to 700 in 1852. In 1853 the trade was said to have stopped. It remained to deal with the Cuban trade, which primarily was a matter for the Spanish Government.

The long struggle between the North and the South gave the one thing needed for the full and final extinction of the trade, whole-hearted co-operation. Lincoln's first blow was the enforcement of the old law, the second blow was the Anglo-American treaty, which was not mistaken in Madrid. Deprived of its American bases, the trade was driven to seek a foothold in European ports; deprived likewise of the only flag which had protected it for thirty years, it was more at the mercy of British sea-power than it had ever been. And then in September, 1862, Lincoln's first blow fell. His Proclamation foretold the end of slavery, not only in the United States but throughout the American world.

LINCOLN CLIPPED NEWSPAPER DATA

Two of His Pocket-Size Scrap-
books Found, Filled With
Information

MOSTLY ABOUT SLAVERY

The Name "Lincoln"

The family name of Lincoln is derived from the town of the same name in England. It is a compound of "Lin" and "coln," signifying a "lake on a hill."

The first American progenitor of the Lincolns was Samuel Lincoln, who came to this country from England as an apprentice weaver in 1637. He settled at Hingham after completing his apprenticeship in Salem.

The name is not very common in Philadelphia. The telephone directory lists only 17 within the city, while the name is used in 41 business organizations.

Newspaper clippings were a part of the reference library of Abraham Lincoln.

The Great Emancipator collected newspaper clippings on slavery before he enunciated his famous document. He collected clippings of the addresses of his opponents in politics before he publicly answered them.

Two little brown scrap-books, pocket size, containing some of the clippings were recently discovered among papers collected for a biography and were placed in the custody of Henry T. Rainey, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

They cover a period of two years, beginning in 1856, and deal principally with the slavery issue.

What Lincoln Clipped

There are, however, other bits of miscellaneous information Lincoln clipped from time to time from the daily newspapers and cut out for future references. Among such items are:

- A table of the solar system.
- Distances between large cities.
- Popular vote for President in 1844, 1848, 1852 and 1856.
- Dimensions of American lakes.
- Population of the world.
- Coin and bullion in the United States.
- Status of the "magnetic telegraph" in 1857.
- Tables on emigration.
- Bank statistics of 1858.
- Mercantile insolvencies.
- Progress of Christianity.
- Real and personal estate in New York city in 1867.
- Names of State Governors.
- Population and wealth of the States.
- War debts of Europe.
- List of Presidents down to Buchanan.

Neat, Orderly

Lincoln's orderly habits of mind are attested not only by the neatness and care with which each clipping is fixed in the books, but also by a careful notation of the source, penned alongside each clipping.

The contents of the first book begin with Henry Clay's statement that the Constitution is "silent and passive" on slavery. Closely following is a reference to Daniel Webster's pledge in the debate on the Oregon bill in 1858 that "I shall con-

sent to no extension of the area of slavery on this continent."

Following is a clipping designed to keep in mind the exact language of the second paragraph of the Constitution—"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created free and equal—"

Washington on Slavery

To bolster his contentions when he should meet Douglas in a final decisive debate, Lincoln preserved a clipping relating to George Washington's letter to Lafayette in 1798 in which he said, "I agree with you cordially in your views in regard to Negro slavery. I have long considered it a most serious evil both socially and politically, and I should rejoice in any feasible scheme to rid our States of such a burden."

On a nearby page is a clipping from Washington's letter in 1794 to Tobias Lee, then in England negotiating the sale of parts of Washington's landed estates, in which he said he was anxious to "rid myself of certain species of property which I possess very repugnantly to my own feeling."

In the second book, Lincoln attached a single newspaper paragraph cut from a report of one of the debates. It is the famous:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect that it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other."

Abraham Lincoln Said:

"It is not best to swap horses when crossing a stream."

"Wealth is a superfluity of what we don't need."

"When we can't remove an obstacle, plow around it."

"There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob rule."

"When you have written a wrathful letter, put it in the stove."

"Truth is generally the best vindication against slander."

"That this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

"Men are not flattered by being shown that there has been a difference of purpose between the Almighty and them."

"Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories."

100 YEARS AGO

from The Tribune and other sources
For Your Historical Scrapbook

May 20, 1862: President Lincoln has issued a proclamation disavowing Gen. Hunter's emancipation of slaves in occupied areas of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. He states that no military commander has been authorized to make such a declaration, and that he had no knowledge or belief of an intention by Gen. Hunter to issue such a proclamation. He says, "Whether it be competent for me as commander in chief of the army and navy to declare the slaves in any state or states free, and whether at any time it shall become a necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the government—these are questions which I reserve to myself and which I cannot entrust to commanders in the field."

NUMBER THREE.

APRIL 1939

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2. Abolition and Secession; or, Cause and Effect. Together with the Remedy for our Sectional Troubles. 3 Opp., Unbound, (lower blank corner cut away) New York: 1864. 1.35.
3. Abolition Conspiracy to Destroy the Union, or Ten Years' Record of the "Republican" Party. New York, 1863. 1.40.
4. Abolition Philanthropy! The Fugitive Slave Law. Too Bad for Southern Negroes, but Good Enough for Free Citizens of Foreign Birth! Handcuffs for White Men! Shoulder Straps for Negroes! (Caption title.) (Philadelphia, 185-) 1.20.
5. Abstract Of the Evidence delivered before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1790 and 1791 for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Half calf. London: 1791. Rare. Contains the very large folding table, showing the hull, etc., of a slave freighter, with negroes packed inside. \$4.65
6. Adamic Race, (The), Reply to "Ariel", Drs. Young and Blackie, on the Negro. "The Negro does NOT belong to the Adamic species."—"He is NOT a descendant of Adam and Eve." Etc. By M. S. Illustrated 16mo, unbound, (stained) 70 pp. New York: 1868. 1.85.
7. Address Adopted by the Whig State Convention, Sept. 13th, 1848. Together with Resolutions and proceedings (Worcester, 1848) 1.35.
8. Address of a part of the Democratic Delegation in Congress from the State of N. Y. to Their Constituents. (Caption title) No place, (1854) .80.
9. Address of the President of the New Jersey Society, for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, to the General Meeting at Trenton, on Wednesday the 26th of September, 1804. Published by Request of the Society. Stitched. 12pp. Trenton, 1804. 2.10.
10. The Address of the Southern and Western Liberty Convention to the People of the U. S. S. Cincinnati: 1845. 3.15.
11. Allan, Rt. Rev. Richard. The Life, Experience, and Gospel Labors of, to which is annexed the Rise and Progress of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the U. S. Written by Himself. 16mo, O. B. Philadelphia: 1887. 1.85.
12. American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. 30th Annual Report of. Presented at New York, May 11, 1853; with the addresses and resolutions. 216pp. Unbound. New York: 1853. 1.35.
13. American Colonization Society. 28th Annual Report. O. P. W. Washington, 1845. 1.35.
14. American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the U. S. Eight Annual Report of. With an Appendix. Unbound. 70pp. Washington City. 1825. 1.35.
15. Annual Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, presented at New York, May 7, 1850, with the Addresses and Resolutions. Unbound. New York: 1850. 1.35.

16. Appleton, Nathan, (Of Boston) Letter to the Hon. Wm. C. Rives, of Virginia on Slavery and the Union. Unbound. 17pp. Boston: 1860. 1.35.

17. Ariel, (pseudonym) The Negro: What is his ethnological status? Is he the progeny of Ham? Is he a descendant of Adam and Eve? Has he a soul? Or is he a beast in God's nomenclature? What is his status as fixed by God in Creation? What is his relation to the White Race? O. C. Cincinnati: 1872. 3.35.

18. Ariel, (Pseudonym) The same. Another copy, binding stained and worn. 2.35.

19. Ariel, (Pseudonym) The Negro: What is His Ethnological Status? Is He the Progeny of Ham? Is He a Descendant of Adam and Eve? Has He a Soul? etc. etc. O. P. W. Cincinnati: 1867. 1.85.

20. Armstrong, M. F. and Ludlow, H. W. Hampton and Its Students. By Two of its Teachers. Illus. O. C. New York: 1874. 1.35.

With 50 Cabin and Plantation Songs, arranged by Thos. P. Fenner.

21. Ashmun, George Speech upon the Slavery Questions. (Caption title.) (Washington) 1850. .45.

22. Ashum, J. Memoir of the Life and Character of Samuel Bacon, late an Officer of Marines in the U. S. Service. . . afterwards an Agent of the American Government for persons liberated from slave-ships on the coast of Africa. Original calf, (broken). Washington City, 1822. Scarce.

23. Atlee, Edwin P. An Address to the Citizens of Philadelphia, on the Subject of Slavery. Delivered on the 4th of July, 1833. O. P. W. 15pp. Philadelphia: 1833. 1.35.

24. Baldwin, R. S. Speech in Favor of the Admission of California into the Union and the Bill in relation to Fugitive Slaves. Washington: 1850. .75.

25. Banks, N. P. Jr. Speech on the Employment of Army Officers in National Armories. (Caption title.) (Washington) (1854.) .45.

26. Barnes, Albert. The Church and Slavery. O. P. W. Philadelphia: 1857. 1.15.

27. Barnes, W. H. T. Moral and Religious Poems, or the First Tribute: embracing among others, several on the subject of Slavery. Some few of which have heretofore been published in the Sentinel and Witness. 16mo, unbound, stained. 40pp. Middletown: 1838. 1.85.

28. Bearse, Austin. Reminiscences of Fugitive-Slave Law Days in Boston. O. P. W. Boston: 1880. 1.15.

29. Bell, John. Slavery in the U. S. and the Causes of the Present Dissensions between the North and the South. Washington, 1850. .80.

30. Bennett, Henry. Speech on the Admission of California. Washington: 1850. .75.

31. Benton, Thos. H. Mr. Benton's Anti-Compromise Speech. (Caption title.) (Washington) 1850. .65.

32. Berry, Harrison. (A Full Blooded Cus-hite) A Reply to Ariel. 8vo. original printed wrappers. Macon, Geo.: 1865. 1.65.

33. Birney, James G. The American Churches. The Bulwarks of American Slavery. 16mo. stitched. Concord, N. H. 1885. 1.05.
34. Birney, Jas. G. Letter on Colonization, addressed to the Rev. Thornton J. Mills, corresponding secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society. 16mo. unbound. NeNw York: 1834. 2.10.
35. Bissell, Wm. H. The Slave Question. (Caption title) 8pp. (Washington, 1850) .45.
36. Blair, Frank P. Speech on the Acquisition of Territory in Central and South America, to be colonized with Free Blacks, and held as a Dependency by the U. S. Washington, 1858. .75.
37. Blair, Montgomery. The Revolution Schemes of the Ultra-Abolitionists O. P. W. New York, 1863. 1.85.
38. Brought, John. (Governor of Ohio.) Inaugural Address Delivered before the Senate and House of Representatives, JanJ. 11, 1864. 8vo. original printed wrappers. Columbus, 1864 1.05.
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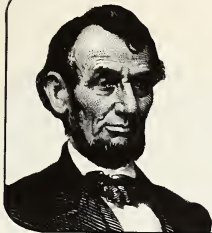
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Lincoln Lore

January, 1980

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor.
Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the
Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

Number 1703

LINCOLN AND SLAVERY: AN OVERVIEW

Abraham Lincoln was a native of a slave state, Kentucky. In 1811 Hardin County, where Lincoln was born two years before, contained 1,007 slaves and 1,627 white males above the age of sixteen. His father's brother Mordecai owned a slave. His father's Uncle Isaac may have owned over forty slaves. The Richard Berry family, with whom Lincoln's mother Nancy Hanks lived before her marriage to Thomas Lincoln, owned slaves. Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, however, were members of a Baptist congregation which had separated from another church because of opposition to slavery. This helps explain Lincoln's statement in 1864 that he was "naturally anti-slavery" and could "not remember when I did not so think, and feel." In 1860 he claimed that his father left Kentucky for Indiana's free soil "partly on account of slavery."

Nothing in Lincoln's political career is inconsistent with his claim to have been "naturally anti-slavery." In 1836, when resolutions came before the Illinois House condemning abolitionism, declaring that the Constitution sanctified the right of property in slaves, and denying the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, Lincoln was one of six to vote against them (seventy-seven voted in favor). Near the end of the term, March 3, 1837, Lincoln and fellow Whig Dan Stone wrote a protest against the resolutions which stated that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy." It too denounced abolitionism as more likely to exacerbate than abate the evils of slavery and asserted the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia (though the right should not be exercised without the consent of the District's citizens). Congress, of course, had no right to interfere with slavery in the states. In 1860 Lincoln could honestly point to the consistency of his antislavery convictions over the last twenty-three years. That early protest "briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now."

In his early political career in the 1830s and 1840s, Lincoln had faith in the benign operation of American political institutions. Though "opposed to slavery" throughout the period,

he "rested in the hope and belief that it was in course of ultimate extinction." For that reason, it was only "a minor question" to him. For the sake of keeping the nation together, Lincoln thought it "a paramount duty" to leave slavery in the states alone. He never spelled out the basis of his faith entirely, but he had confidence that the country was ever seeking to approximate the ideals of the Declaration of Independence. All men would be free when slavery, restricted to the areas where it already existed, exhausted the soil, became unprofitable, and was abolished by the slave-holding states themselves or perhaps by numerous individual emancipations. Reaching this goal, perhaps by the end of the century, required of dutiful politicians only "that we should never knowingly lend ourselves directly or indirectly, to prevent . . . slavery from dying a natural death — to find new places for it to live in, when it can no longer exist in the old."

This statement, made in 1845, expressed Lincoln's lack of concern over the annexation of Texas, where slavery already existed. As a Congressman during the Mexican War, Lincoln supported the Wilmot Proviso because it would prevent the growth of slavery in parts of the Mexican cession where the institution did not already exist. He still considered slavery a "distracting" question, one that might destroy America's experiment in popular government if politicians were to "enlarge and aggravate" it either by seeking to expand slavery or to attack it in the states.

Lincoln became increasingly worried around 1850 when he read John C. Calhoun's denunciations of the Declaration of Independence. When he read a similar denunciation by a Virginia clergyman, he grew more upset. Such things undermined his confidence because they showed that some Americans did not wish to approach the ideals of the Declaration of Independence; for some, they were no longer ideals at all. But these were the statements of a society directly interested in the preservation of the institution, and Lincoln did not become enough alarmed to aggravate the slave question. He began even to lose interest in politics.

The passage of Stephen A. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Like many other prints of Lincoln published soon after his death, this one celebrated the Emancipation Proclamation as his greatest act.

in 1854 changed all this. Lincoln was startled when territory previously closed to slavery was opened to the possibility of its introduction by local vote. He was especially alarmed at the fact that this change was led by a Northerner with no direct interest in slavery to protect.

In 1841 Lincoln had seen a group of slaves on a steamboat being sold South from Kentucky to a harsher (so he assumed) slavery. Immediately after the trip, he noted the irony of their seeming contentment with their lot. They had appeared to be the happiest people on board. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, he wrote about the same episode, still vivid to him, as "a continual torment to me." Slavery, he said, "has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable."

Lincoln repeatedly stated that slaveholders were no worse than Northerners would be in the same situation. Having inherited an undesirable but socially explosive political institution, Southerners made the best of a bad situation. Like all Americans before the Revolution, they had denounced Great Britain's forcing slavery on the colonies with the slave trade, and, even in the 1850s, they admitted the humanity of the Negro by despising those Southerners who dealt with the Negro as property, pure and simple — slave traders. But he feared that the ability of Northerners to see that slavery was morally wrong was in decline. This, almost as surely as disunion, could mean the end of the American experiment in freedom, for any argument for slavery which ignored the moral wrong of the institution could be used to enslave any man, white or black. If lighter men were to enslave darker men, then "you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with a fairer skin than your own." If superior intellect determined masters, then "you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with an intellect superior to your own." Once the moral distinction between slavery and freedom were forgotten, nothing could stop its spread. It was "founded in the selfishness of man's nature," and that selfishness could overcome any barriers of climate or geography.

By 1856 Lincoln was convinced that the "sentiment in favor of white slavery . . . prevailed in all the slave state papers, except those of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri and Maryland." The people of the South had "an immediate palpable and immensely great pecuniary interest" in the question; "while, with the people of the North, it is merely an abstract question of moral right." Unfortunately, the latter formed a looser bond than economic self-interest in two billion dollars worth of slaves. And the Northern ability to resist was steadily undermined by the moral indifference to slavery epitomized by Douglas's willingness to see slavery voted up or down in the territories. The Dred Scott decision in 1857 convinced Lincoln that the Kansas-Nebraska Act had been the beginning of a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual, national, and universal. His House-Divided Speech of 1858 and his famous debates with Douglas stressed the specter of a conspiracy to nationalize slavery.

Lincoln's claims in behalf of the slaves were modest and did not make much of the Negro's abilities outside of slavery. The Negro "is not my equal . . . in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment," Lincoln said, but "in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black." Lincoln objected to slavery primarily because it violated the doctrine of the equality of all men announced in the Declaration of Independence. "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master," Lincoln said. "This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."

Lincoln had always worked on the assumption that the Union was more important than abolishing slavery. As long as the country was approaching the ideal of freedom for all men, even if it took a hundred years, it made no sense to destroy the freest country in the world. When it became apparent to Lincoln that the country might not be approaching that ideal, it somewhat confused his thinking. In 1854 he admitted that as "Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any GREAT evil, to avoid a GREATER one." As his fears of a conspiracy to nationalize

slavery increased, he ceased to make such statements. In the secession crisis he edged closer toward making liberty more important than Union. In New York City on February 20, 1861, President-elect Lincoln said:

There is nothing that can ever bring me willingly to consent to the destruction of this Union, under which . . . the whole country has acquired its greatness, unless it were to be that thing for which the Union itself was made. I understand a ship to be made for the carrying and preservation of the cargo, and so long as the ship can be saved, with the cargo, it should never be abandoned. This Union should likewise never be abandoned unless it fails and the probability of its preservation shall cease to exist without throwing the passengers and cargo overboard. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and the liberties of the people can be preserved in the Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to preserve it.

The Civil War saw Lincoln move quickly to save the Union by stretching and, occasionally, violating the Constitution. Since he had always said that constitutional scruple kept him from bothering slavery in the states, it is clear that early in the war he was willing to go much farther to save the Union than he was willing to go to abolish slavery. Yet he interpreted it as his constitutional duty to save the Union, even if to do so he had to violate some small part of that very Constitution. There certainly was no constitutional duty to do anything about slavery. For over a year, he did not.

On August 22, 1862, Lincoln responded to criticism from Horace Greeley by stating his slavery policy:

If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do *more* whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men every where could be free.

The Emancipation Proclamation, announced just one month later, was avowedly a military act, and Lincoln boasted of his consistency almost two years later by saying, "I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery."

Nevertheless, he had changed his mind in some regards. Precisely one year before he issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had criticized General John C. Frémont's emancipation proclamation for Missouri by saying that "as to . . . the liberation of slaves" it was "purely political, and not within the range of military law, or necessity."

If a commanding General finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner, for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it, as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever; and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the General needs them, he can seize them, and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future

condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question, is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do *anything* he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of loyal people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure I have no doubt would be more popular with some thoughtless people, than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position; nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility. You speak of it as being the only means of saving the government. On the contrary it is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the government of the U.S. — any government of Constitution and laws, — wherein a General, or a President, may make permanent rules of property by proclamation?

I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law, on the point, just such as General Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to, is, that I as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

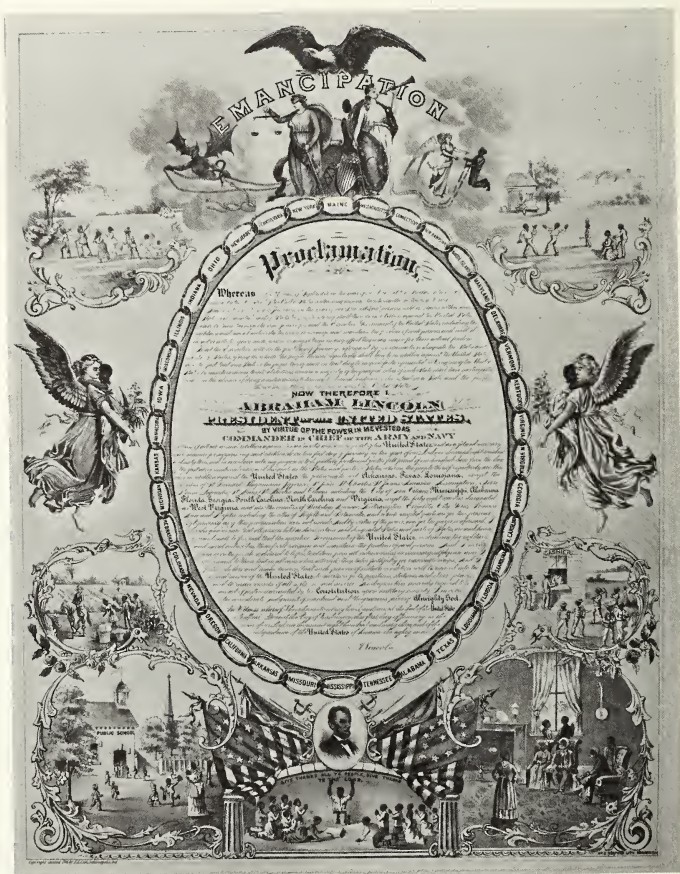
Critics called this inconsistency; Lincoln's admirers have called it "growth." Whatever the case, just as Lincoln's love of Union caused him to handle the Constitution somewhat roughly, so his hatred of slavery led him, more slowly, to treat the Constitution in a manner inconceivable to him in 1861. Emancipation, if somewhat more slowly, was allowed about the same degree of constitutional latitude the Union earned in Lincoln's policies.

The destruction of slavery never became the avowed object of the war, but by insisting on its importance, militarily, to saving the Union, Lincoln made it constitutionally beyond criticism and, in all that really mattered, an aim of the war. In all practical applications, it was a condition of peace — and was so announced in the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction of December 8, 1863, and repeatedly defended in administration statements thereafter. He reinforced this fusion of aims by insisting that the Confederacy was an attempt to establish "a new Nation, . . . with the primary, and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge, and perpetuate human slavery," thus making the enemy and slavery one and the same.

Only once did Lincoln apparently change his mind. In the desperately gloomy August of 1864, when defeat for the administration seemed certain, Lincoln bowed to pressure from Henry J. Raymond long enough to draft a letter empowering Raymond to propose peace with Jefferson Davis on the condition of reunion alone, all other questions (including slavery, of course) to be settled by a convention

afterwards. Lincoln never finished the letter, and the offer was never made. Moreover, as things looked in August, Lincoln was surrendering only what he could not keep anyway. He was so convinced that the Democratic platform would mean the loss of the Union, that he vowed in secret to work to save the Union before the next President came into office in March. He could hope for some cooperation from Democrats in this, as they professed to be as much in favor of Union as the Republicans. Without the Union, slavery could not be abolished anyhow, and the Democrats were committed to restoring slavery.

Lincoln had made abolition a party goal in 1864 by making support for the Thirteenth Amendment a part of the Republican platform. The work he performed for that measure after his election proved that his antislavery views had not abated. Near the end of his life, he repeated in a public speech one of his favorite arguments against slavery: "Whenever [I] hear any one, arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally."



From the Louis A. Warren
Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. This Indianapolis edition of the Emancipation Proclamation, published in 1866, obviously copied the edition in Figure 2. Note, however, that the harsher scenes of slavery are removed — a sign of the post-Reconstruction political ethos.

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GETTYSBURG -- "Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom,
and the Civil War" has been selected as the winner of the 1994 Lincoln
Prize at Gettysburg College. The book is a collection of letters, reports
and depositions from the National Archives examining the issues of
slavery and emancipation from the viewpoint of African Americans who
lived during the Civil War period.

The book, edited by Ira Berlin, Barbara J. Fields, Steven Miller,
Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie Rowland and published by The New Press, was
honored at ceremonies held February 17 at the Pierpont Morgan Library and
The New York Public Library. The \$50,000 Lincoln Prize, the premier
award for excellence in Civil War studies, has been given annually since
1991 by Gettysburg College.

The book and its editors were awarded \$40,000 and a bronze bust of
Lincoln based on Augustus St. Gaudens' life-size sculpture, "Lincoln the
Man."

...more

1994 Lincoln Prize -- add 1

"The Vacant Chair" by Reid Mitchell (Oxford University Press) was named as second prize winner and received \$10,000. The book, using excerpts from diaries, letters, and logs of Union soldiers and officers, attempts to show that stronger family support was a significant factor in the Union victory over Confederate troops.

The books were selected from among 75 items submitted for consideration. To be eligible, works must have been published, broadcast or released between October 1, 1992 and September 30, 1993. The jury members, Carl N. Degler (Stanford University), Jean Baker (Goucher College), and Emory Thomas (University of Georgia), reviewed the submissions and made recommendations to the administering body, the board of trustees of the Lincoln and Soldiers Institute at Gettysburg College, which made the final decision.

"Free at Last: A Documentary History of Slavery, Freedom, and the Civil War" is a selection of the best of 40,000 documents included in a four-volume series on the subject originally published by Cambridge University Press. The volumes in the series to date have been "Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867" and "Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation 1861-1867, Series II, The Black Military Experience."

...more

1994 Lincoln Prize -- add 2

The documents reproduced in the award-winning book have been described by William McFeely, the 1992 Lincoln Prize Laureate, as "rich sources for the understanding of the complex and inspiring story of how black Americans...achieved their freedom."

Ira Berlin is professor of history and acting dean of undergraduate studies at the University of Maryland at College Park and former director of the Freedmen and Southern Society Project, formed in 1976 with a goal of writing "a history of emancipation in the words of the men and women caught up in its drama: Unionists and Confederates, soldiers and civilians, slaveholders and slaves."

The other four editors have served as coeditors for several or all of the original four-volume work. Fields is professor of history at Columbia University; Miller is research associate at the University of Maryland at College Park; Reidy is professor of history at Howard University; and, Rowland, current director of the Freedman and Southern Society Project, is professor of history at the University of Maryland at College Park.

Reid Mitchell, author of the book which captured second place, is an assistant professor of history at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County. He also authored "Civil War Soldiers."

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1994 Lincoln Prize -- add 3

The Lincoln Prize was founded by Lewis Lehrman and Richard Gilder, two New York businessmen who have a long-standing interest in Lincoln and the Civil War.

Ken Burns, producer of the acclaimed Public Broadcasting System series, "The Civil War," was the recipient of the initial Lincoln Prize in 1991. McFeely, author of "Frederick Douglass," and Charles Royster, author of "The Destructive War" shared the prize in 1992. Last year's award was presented to Kenneth M. Stampp in recognition of the profound influence his 1956 book, "The Peculiar Institution," had on the literary treatment of slavery. Also, Albert Castel's "Decision in the West: The Atlanta Campaign of 1864" was honored as the best book on the American Civil War published during 1992.

SLAVERY



A Different Kind of Slave.

A study of workers empowered and partly liberated by their skills.

BOND OF IRON

Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge.

By Charles B. Dew.

Illustrated. 429 pp. New York:

W. W. Norton & Company. \$27.50.

By Drew Gilpin Faust

An overwhelming majority of slaves in the Old South worked in agriculture, producing the cotton, tobacco and rice that supported the region's vibrant economy. Yet by the 1850's, some 200,000 bound laborers, approximately 5 percent of the unfree work force, toiled in industry. In "Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge," Charles B. Dew presents a detailed study of a single industrialist and the black labor force he and his heirs employed for a half-century in antebellum, Civil War and Reconstruction Virginia.

Extraordinarily rich sources, which Mr. Dew discovered in archives and in private collections across the United States, have enabled him not just to describe the business and management decisions of William Weaver and his deputies, but also to reconstruct the lives of the slaves who lived and worked at Buffalo Forge. From these materials Mr. Dew, a professor of history at Williams College and the author of "Ironmaker to the Confederacy: Joseph R. Anderson and the Tredegar Iron Works," has fashioned the portrait of a slave force empowered and partly-liberated by its indispensable skills, of a slave institution far more flexible than even the most paternalistic vision of its plantation counterpart and of a distinctively Southern variety of industry, shaped — indeed retarded — by the necessities of managing and manipulating bound labor.

William Weaver came from Philadelphia to Virginia in 1814 in search of investment opportunity. A businessman and manufacturer, Weaver, together with a partner, purchased a forge, two charcoal blast furnaces and 6,000 acres of ore and woodland in the Shenandoah Valley just southeast of Lexington. Ruthless in his business dealings, Weaver seemed unconstrained by his German Pietist origins; he demonstrated no qualms about the use of bound labor in his new enterprise, determining simply to keep the nature of his work force secret from those who shared the antislavery traditions in which he had been raised.

Placing little faith in the reliability of free white laborers (who tended to alcoholism and absenteeism), Weaver determined first to hire slaves, then, as he accumulated more capital, to purchase them for his furnace and forge. By the time of his death at the age of 82 in 1863, Weaver would own 70 slaves, many of whom were highly skilled ironworkers.

• • •
Weaver himself did not move to Virginia until 1823, attempting at first to run his new business through the efforts of Thomas Maybury, a resident partner and a fellow Pennsylvanian. Mr. Dew chronicles the erosion and ultimate dissolution of their partnership, which deteriorated into squabbles, hostility and finally chancery suits as Weaver relentlessly struggled to seize control and advance his own interests. "Rings of controversy and litigation," Mr. Dew tells us, "spread out from Weaver," who evidently was thoroughly disliked by almost every business associate of his long career.

Yet curiously, oral traditions still surviving among the descendants of Weaver's slaves represent him rather differently — as "basically a decent man." William Weaver, who ran roughshod over business associates, acquaintances, even relatives, was compelled by his



The family of a forge worker, photographed at home near Glasgow, Va., after the Civil War.

dependence on his slaves' skills and labor to treat them with at least a degree of consideration and humanity.

In the early years at Buffalo Forge, Weaver used a largely hired force of slaves whom he recruited from all over Piedmont Virginia and employed on one-year contracts, renewable each Christmas. Owners of these slaves interrogated their bondsmen about their work and treatment, so that Weaver, like other industrial employers, soon recognized that "cultivation of a certain amount of good will among his hirelings was essential" if he was to continue to procure the laborers he needed.

But as he gradually built a slave force of his own, the necessity of pleasing his laborers increased rather than diminished. Mr. Dew emphasizes that positive incentives and not physical coercion were central to industrial slavery. Sabotage was all too easy and dangerous around a forge; even work slowdowns or careless performance could undermine operations. Thus Weaver, like most Southern industrialists, emphasized rewards, not punishment. Mr. Dew finds no indication that any slave forge worker was ever whipped during Weaver's years in the valley. Instead, he finds that they were cajoled into high levels of productivity with payment for "overwork" beyond specific daily tasks. In the rare cases where a slave proved intractable or threatening, he was not punished but sold — removed entirely from the system of incentives in which he had refused to participate.

With the money that slaves received for overwork, they bought coffee, tea, fancy cloth, silk hats. Some accepted cash credits instead of their annual clothing allowance in order to be able to select and purchase their own garments. And at least two of Weaver's slaves, Sam Williams and his wife, Nancy, held savings accounts, investing their overwork payments with a local bank.

Industrial labor not only meant that Buffalo Forge slaves possessed valuable skills — often passed on, as with Tooler Sr. and Tooler Jr., from father to son, or, as with Harry Hunt, through four generations of Virginia slave ironworkers. The organization of industrial labor also gave slaves remarkable independence — even within the bounds of the peculiar institution. By law, slaves in the Old South could not own property or participate in market transactions; yet in actuality, the slaves of Buffalo Forge were avid and discriminating consumers and even investors. They also exerted significant control

over the pace and intensity of their daily labor. In the summer of 1860, for example, Sam Williams, a valued foreman, found the heat too oppressive and simply took a four-week vacation.

The war first brought unparalleled prosperity to Buffalo Forge and to Weaver, who characteristically exploited the military need for iron to advance his prices at double the rate of inflation. But with Southern defeat and emancipation, the enterprise failed. This collapse, however, stemmed not from the impact of changed labor relations under freedom or from the departure of newly liberated African-Americans from the site of their enslavement. In fact, most of the laborers chose to remain, for as vigilante groups terrorized the freed people of the valley, Mr. Dew speculates, Buffalo Forge "probably represented one of the freedmen's best hopes for physical security and fair treatment in the chaotic period following the end of slavery."

The demise of the industry arose instead from its inability to compete with cheaper iron being produced by more technologically advanced rolling mills in the North. Buffalo Forge, and Southern iron manufacturing in general, had remained essentially unchanged since the era of the Revolution. The failure to modernize, Mr. Dew contends, "had absolutely nothing to do with the talents and abilities of Weaver's slave artisans." Rather, the conservative influence slavery exerted over industry lay in the centrality of the bargain inherent in the task and overwork system, a precarious balance of the interests of master and slave that Weaver, like other Southern entrepreneurs, was reluctant to disrupt through innovation or change. As Mr. Dew explains, "Buffalo Forge had retained the traditional tilt-hammer technology because Weaver had chosen to keep his slave foremen doing things the way they always had."

Paradoxically, industry undermined the traditional constraints of slavery, while slavery at the same time captured Southern iron manufacturing in a technological traditionalism that would prove its ultimate downfall. With the story of William Weaver, Sam and Nancy Williams, Harry Hunt and the dozens of other black and white residents of Buffalo Forge, Charles Dew complicates and enriches our understanding of the human as well as the larger social and economic meaning of American slavery.

Drew Gilpin Faust is an Annenberg Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania. Her most recent book is "Southern Stories: Slaveholders in Peace and War."

NYT



In Short/Civil War

THE PRESIDENCY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By Philip Shaw Paludan.
University Press of Kansas, \$29.95.
Abraham Lincoln, as Philip Shaw Paludan reminds us, had to "learn the Presidency in the midst of its greatest crisis." Unlike his Southern counterpart, Jefferson Davis, Lincoln lacked administrative experience and had not held military command. And he was an outsider to Washington and its political culture. Opponents in the 1864 election criticized "his manifest tendencies toward compromises and temporary expedients," and he is often depicted today as a dictator who circumvented civil liberties and dragged his feet on emancipation. But in "The Presidency of Abraham Lincoln," a volume in the series on Presidential administrations being published by the University of Kansas Press, Mr. Paludan places Lincoln in the context of the constitutional debates of his time, and sees his Presidency as characterized by "the need to balance the politically and legally possible with the moral imperative."

Away from the drama of the battlefield and the rhetoric of Lincoln's famous utterances, Mr. Paludan, a professor of history at the University of Kansas and the author of several volumes on the conflict, including "A People's Contest: The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865," traces the year-by-year chronology of a Presidency engaged with recruiting, placating, appeasing and coercing the various and competing factions of the war years, and sees in Lincoln "a commitment to the political-constitutional system that would itself move the nation toward its highest ambitions." No liberal by today's standards, or even by the standards of his own time, Lincoln nevertheless emerges here as the one statesman and politician who could preserve the idea of union and lead the nation to emancipation. Equally interesting is Mr. Paludan's depiction of how the war transformed the national Government, not only establishing the foundations for the Gilded Age but more subtly strengthening and enriching the role of government. "Power," Mr. Paludan observes, "had become the guarantor, not the nemesis, of liberty."

DAVID WALTON

OUT OF THE STORM

The End of the Civil War:
April-June 1865.

By Noah Andre Trudeau.
Little, Brown, \$27.95.

The afternoon in April 1865 when Gen. Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox may seem to casual readers of Civil War history to have put an end to that fratricidal conflict. But battles raged for another month on land and for four months at sea. They were rethought for decades in memoirs and courtrooms, where some officers "tried to appoint themselves to reclaim reputations that had been lost on the field of battle," as Noah Andre Trudeau notes in summing up

Gen. Philip Sheridan's opinion of such cases. General Sheridan figures prominently in this narrative. "Out of the Storm," the final volume in Mr. Trudeau's trilogy tracing the last year of the war (preceded by "Bloody Roads South: The Wilderness to Cold Harbor, May-June 1864" and "The Last Citadel: Petersburg, Virginia, June 1864-April 1865"), begins with General Sheridan's brilliant victory at Five Forks, Va., dur-

ing prison camp at Andersonville, Ga., executed following the conflict's only war crimes trial. There is much detail, so much that some is merely minutiae. But there are also grand descriptions, notably those of the Confederates' evacuation of Richmond and the two-day review of the victorious Union armies through Washington. This is an interesting and informative addition to any Civil War bookshelf.

JOHN GLENN



Former Confederate officers arriving in Richmond to take the oath of allegiance.

ing which he relieved a corps commander, Gouverneur K. Warren, accusing him of incompetence. The book ends in 1882, when an Army court of inquiry, despite General Sheridan's testimony, vindicated Warren.

Mr. Trudeau's account of the last months of the war is virtually a day-by-day examination of the campaigns in Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama and Georgia, up to the last battle, in May at Palmito Ranch in Texas. At sea, the Confederate raider Shenandoah fought until August and finally anchored in England in November. But this is more than a retelling of battles lost and won. Mr. Trudeau follows Jefferson Davis as he flees, leaving in his wake a collapsing Confederacy. And he vividly documents life in a defeated South struggling to redefine itself in the immediate aftermath of the war. "Out of the Storm" is a story of individuals, ranging from private soldiers on both sides up to Lee — whose petition for a pardon was not granted in his lifetime — and Davis, who never sought amnesty and who had few regrets. It is also the story of the manner in which justice was meted out to those implicated in Abraham Lincoln's assassination and to the commander of the infamous Confederate

WHAT THEY FOUGHT FOR, 1861-1865

By James M. McPherson.
Louisiana State University, \$16.95.

It has become almost an article of faith among historians that most of the soldiers in the Civil War had at best a vague idea of what they were fighting for. James M. McPherson, relying on the letters and diaries of soldiers on both sides, argues that in fact "a large number of those men in blue and gray were intensely aware of the issues at stake and passionately concerned about them." Many of the soldiers' opinions presented here are predictable and repetitive, but some — to modern eyes, at least — are striking, most notably the balancing act that many Southern soldiers performed with the concept of slavery. Mr. McPherson, the author of "Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era," which won the 1989 Pulitzer Prize for history, quotes one soldier who, several weeks after writing to his wife that he was willing to die "battling for Liberty and independence," complained in a second letter that his servant had run off to the Yanks: "It is very singular, and I can't account for it." Other letters are uglier, flattery stating that slaves belonged to an inferior race for which

servitude was the proper condition.

Mr. McPherson acknowledges one serious obstacle to his argument that a sizable number of soldiers understood the issues: those whose writings have survived are necessarily not representative of those who fought. This is particularly true on the Confederate side, where the sample underrepresents laborers, overrepresents planters and slaveholders and, of course, ignores the illiterate, who accounted for up to 20 percent of the army. In other words, "the sample is biased toward those who had the largest stake in the Confederacy and were therefore most prone to have strong ideological convictions." Mr. McPherson notes that it is also slanted toward the men who did the actual fighting, as opposed to malingers, deserters and those in safe jobs behind the lines, and suggests that "this bias may go a long way to neutralize the others." Whether it goes far enough to prove the author's case is a question for a statistician, or maybe a pollster. Until one comes along, "What They Fought For" at least provides enough evidence to keep the question open.

HAL GOODMAN

THE REINTEGRATION OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Slavery and the Civil War.
By William W. Freehling.
Oxford University,
cloth \$39.95; paper, \$14.95.

For Abraham Lincoln, the origins of the Civil War lay in a fundamental contradiction: both human liberty and human slavery were enshrined in the United States Constitution in Philadelphia in 1787. For William W. Freehling, that contradiction — and its twisted life right up to slavery's abolition in 1865 — has been something like an obsession. This collection of 11 essays, written over three decades, stands as a sort of road map to that obsession; it also provides further support for Mr. Freehling's contention that an unbroken historical thread links Philadelphia in 1787 to Fort Sumter, S.C., in 1861. In Mr. Freehling's widely acclaimed history "The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay, 1776-1854," the first of a planned two-volume narrative chronicle of that linkage, he championed the notion that academic historians should produce works accessible to general audiences. Some of the essays in "The Reintegration of American History" meet that standard. Others don't, and as a book, "Reintegration" suffers from the inevitable redundancy that attends collections of essays that address a single theme.

Still, much here will interest the lay reader. Two essays in particular are standouts — one on the Founding Fathers' attitudes toward slavery, the other on 19th-century expansionism. Throughout the book, Mr. Freehling also offers a refreshing antidote to the hegemony of the scholarship that portrays the antebellum South as dominated by a planter master class. For

Mr. Freehling, the region teemed with diversity — and tensions: urban mercantile versus rural agrarian, planters versus yeomen, Whigs versus Democrats and, most critically, lower versus upper South. Indeed, Mr. Freehling makes a provocative case that planter anxieties after Lincoln's election in 1860 arose more from fears of challenges to slavery from within the South than from concerns about any external assault by Northerners. By 1860, after all, King Cotton's reign in the Deep South had drained that peculiar institution of slavery of much of its vigor in realms closer to the Mason-Dixon line. Subsequent events, Mr. Freehling notes, proved those fears well founded. "The four Border South states would fight for the Union, tipping the balance of power against the Confederacy. Abraham Lincoln would allegedly say that though he hoped to have God on his side, he had to have Kentucky." **TOM CHAFFIN**

DEAR MR. LINCOLN

Letters to the President. Edited by Harold Holzer. Addison-Wesley, \$26.95. During his Presidency, Abraham Lincoln received as many as 300 letters a day from private citizens. Some 15,000 of them have been preserved, and from that mass Harold Holzer, the author of several books on the Civil War era, has drawn a fascinating sample. Among the letters reprinted here are audacious pleas for Government jobs, elaborate (and frequently very strange) plans for military action, and detailed, often comically unvarnished advice for Lincoln on how to run the country. The most remarkable pieces are the haunting communications from common soldiers and from bereaved parents or widows. The letters offer further proof of the degree to which many Americans saw Lincoln more as an amiable neighbor than as an unapproachable head of state. They also offer a rough, vigorous glimpse of the North in wartime.

RICHARD E. NICHOLLS

THE CLASS OF 1846

From West Point to Appomattox: Stonewall Jackson, George McClellan and Their Brothers. By John C. Waugh. Warner, \$29.95.

In the 1840's, West Point, which Andrew Jackson had more or less accurately called "the best school in the world," had a dual role: it produced not only the Army's officer corps, but also America's best construction and civil engineers. For much of the nation, it was also a chance to get an otherwise unavailable higher education free. When the class of 1846 had survived the discipline, the numbing damp of Hudson Valley winters and the demanding curriculum, its 60 members were a band of brothers. They went off to war in Mexico, where some died, and then to the Indian campaigns of the 1850's, where more died. Finally and tragically, brothers became enemies in America's bloodiest conflict, a progression vividly traced in "The Class of 1846." Stonewall Jackson, A. P. Hill, his roommate George McClellan and George Pickett are only a few of the names on the muster roll of commanders on both the Union and Confederate sides who came from the class of '46. It was, John C. Waugh notes, "arguably the most illustrious" class (20 of its members eventually became generals) of the academy's antebellum years.

Mr. Waugh, for many years a report-



FROM THE CLASS OF 1846
Stonewall Jackson as a young officer.

er for The Christian Science Monitor, has done his homework well, and has deftly translated his findings into a complicated but compelling narrative that follows the fate of that class from plebe days to Appomattox and beyond. He is a convincing defender of the academy and cites credible contemporary sources like the class's own Truman Seymour (who became a Union major general) to make a case that the Confederate forces probably lasted as long in the field as they did because of the military education their leaders had gained at the Point. While he is primarily interested in the careers of a dozen men, he also packs in a great deal of detail on the way war was waged nearly a century and a half ago. "The Class of 1846" belongs on the shelf of not only Civil War buffs but also students of all military history. **DAVID MURRAY**

GATE OF HELL

Campaign for Charleston Harbor, 1863. By Stephen R. Wise. University of South Carolina, \$27.95. During the Civil War, Charleston, S.C., was at once a military and propaganda target for Union forces. The goals of closing the Confederacy's major port and exacting revenge on the city, viewed in the North as the cradle of secession and the birthplace of the war, gave the Union high command compelling reasons to mount a major effort to capture the harbor fortifications. In the spring of 1863, the Union launched an offensive under Brig. Gen. Quincy A. Gillmore, the North's best artillery and engineering officer, with the Navy providing support. Thousands of Americans fought and died in the Union attempt to gain Battery Wagner on Morris Island, the city's principal defense. After the failed July assaults on Morris Island, entrenching tools replaced weapons and the siege began that culminated in the Confederates' retreat in September.

In "Gate of Hell," Stephen R. Wise, the director of the Parris Island Marine Corps Museum, argues convincingly that Union tactics during the campaign "introduced a new era in the science of engineering and gunnery." The use of modern heavy artillery bombardment — and the shelling of civilian areas of Charleston — signaled changes in military strategy. The battle is especially memorable for the extensive use of black volunteers, including regiments of liberated slaves. Mr. Wise explores

the Union's use of black recruits in detail. The campaign was, he notes, "a major testing ground for African-American troops, whose fine performance against Battery Wagner and in the subsequent siege convinced the Northern Government to expand its recruitment of black soldiers." The discussions of the Navy's and artillery's roles are very interesting, though the author sometimes lets technicalities slow him down. Demonstrating a careful attention to the realities of battle, Mr. Wise has written a lively and authoritative text on this fascinating but little-known campaign. **ARTHUR KRAKOWSKI**

TAINTED BREEZE

The Great Hanging at Gainesville, Texas, 1862. By Richard B. McCaslin.

Louisiana State University, \$29.95.

In October 1862, the Red River Valley of northern Texas became a no man's land, the site of the largest single incident of lynchings in American history. In "Tainted Breeze," Richard B. McCaslin carefully reveals the forces that led up to that bloody event. Although slave owners were the region's most prominent citizens, most settlers were farmers who did not own slaves and voted heavily against secession. The militia forces they raised, ostensibly to guard against Indian raids, acted as a Unionist home guard. Members of the local Peace Party exchanged elaborate secret handshakes. Some, on the fringes, laid grandiose plans for insurrection and stockpiled arms. The slave owners struck first, hauling scores of Peace Party men before a "citizens' court" in Gainesville, a local county seat. At first, basic rules were followed. The accused were allowed to testify, examine witnesses and employ legal counsel. Nine prisoners were condemned, but many others were freed.

Within two weeks, however, hysteria took over. The mob demanded more executions — and the citizens' court members, fearing for their own lives, gave in. Fourteen more men were hanged. When a Unionist ambush drew blood, still more hangings followed, until the death toll stood at 42 (not counting men shot while resisting or trying to escape, or hanged in other counties). Even though the executions ended in November, halted by Confederate officials and alert state court judges in Texas, the killing continued. Violence flared for the rest of the year (as pos-

sessed by Union guerrillas) and throughout Reconstruction, when Peace Party survivors mustered their own vengeful mobs. Trials continued as late as 1885, when it became clear that those responsible would never be brought to justice. Mr. McCaslin, who teaches history at High Point University in North Carolina, has dug deep into census lists, tax rolls and archival sources. This lucidly written book explores unflinchingly what one witness called the "dark corner of the Confederacy."

ALLEN BOYER

THE VACANT CHAIR

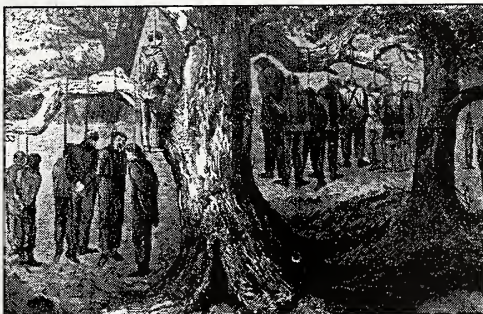
The Northern Soldier Leaves Home.

By Reid Mitchell.

Oxford University, \$25.

Reid Mitchell, an assistant professor of history at the University of Maryland and the author of "Civil War Soldiers," examines various aspects of the lives of Union combatants in "The Vacant Chair: The Northern Soldier Leaves Home." His aim, he writes in his introduction, is to illuminate how and why Northerners fought and ultimately defeated the Confederacy by combining "two different historical literatures — that which deals with gender studies, domesticity and the family, and that which deals with the Civil War." He discusses the temptations of individual soldiers in an environment coarsened by whisky sellers and prostitutes; the dehumanizing process by which it became possible to kill Southern enemies; and the methods of discipline employed by Union officers.

Mr. Mitchell also examines how their hometown and family ties — many companies were made up of recruits from the same community — became valuable assets in the Union effort; how Northerners' racial notions were exposed as patriarchal when white officers commanded black fighting men; how Federal troops and their loved ones at home came to terms with the finality of death. In pursuing these commonplaces but nevertheless important aspects of the Union's war against the Confederacy, Mr. Mitchell employs many excellent anecdotes — the variety of experience and expression among the individuals he quotes is truly fascinating, testifying to his research. Though he serves up no discernible surprises or special insights in imposing his theses on the primary sources used in this study, the voices linger. **DAVID HAWARD BAIN**



A detail from a drawing originally published in Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Feb. 20, 1864.



KATHLEEN BABINEAUX BLANCO
Lieutenant Governor

STATE OF LOUISIANA
OFFICE OF THE LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
Department of Culture, Recreation and Tourism
OFFICE OF STATE MUSEUM

PHILLIP J. JONES
Secretary

JAMES F. SEFCIK
Assistant Secretary

February 12, 1996

Dear Ms. Davis:

Thank you for including the Louisiana State Museum in your visiting plans. It was a pleasure meeting with you and discussing objects from our Permanent Collection. In our meeting you referred to a photograph in your own museum's collection that showed part of what has been suggested to be a metal slave collar and hoped that the State Museum's exhibited slave collar might offer further information.

The information in our records is as follows:

The slave collar on exhibit in the Cabildo (LSM#11320) was a 1934 State Museum purchase. Unfortunately, the records do not record what plantation the collar came from nor any family names associated with the collar. The dimensions are as follows: height (of three extensions from which bells hang) 9" (22.9 cm) by diameter of neck collar 5 1/4" (14 cm). The collar is wrought iron with brass manufactured sleigh bells. The records quote only the following: "slave collar made of wrought iron with 3 bells. Placed on unruly or runaway slaves."

I am sorry that there is so little information but hope that this and the enclosed drawing will assist you in solving your own museum's mystery of a half image of a slave collar.

If I can be of any further assistance please do not hesitate to call.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Milita Rios-Samaniego".

Milita Rios-Samaniego
Director of Collections

Enclosure



PHOTOGRAPH

LSM#11320

Lincoln manuscript sold

Abraham Lincoln's handwritten final paragraph of a speech he gave predicting the end of slavery was sold at auction for \$497,500 at Christie's in New York. Lincoln made the speech during his famed 1858 debates with Stephen Douglas, the incumbent in a race for a U.S. Senate seat from Illinois. Lincoln lost by a narrow margin.

INTERNATIONAL

5-19-96

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Abraham Lincoln: The president used this map to see where slavery was strongest.

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The Colorful Posters That Motivated Jazz-Age Workers To Strive

The Map That Lincoln Used to See the Reach of Slavery

By Rebecca Onion | Posted Wednesday, Sept. 4, 2013, at 11:30 AM



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EMAIL



COMMENT

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The Vault is Slate's history blog. Like us on Facebook, follow us on Twitter @slatevault, and find us on Tumblr. Find out more about what this space is all about here.

This map, made by the U.S. Coast Survey in 1861 using census data from 1860, shows the relative prevalence of slavery in Southern counties that year. (Click on the image or on this link to arrive at a larger, zoomable version.)

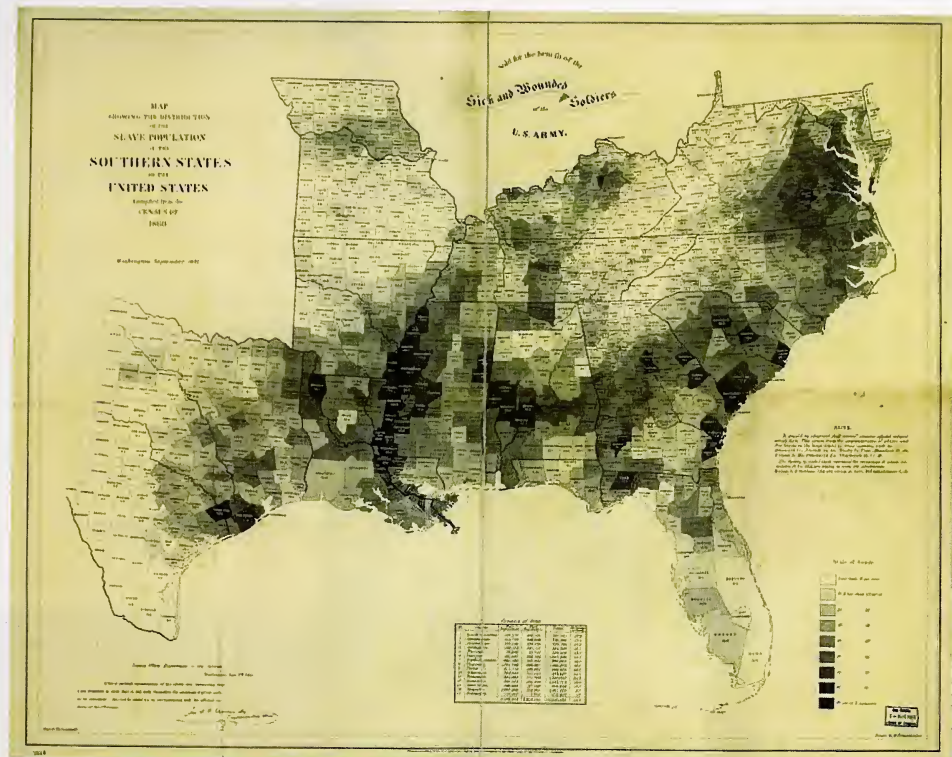
The map, which shades counties based on the percentage of total inhabitants who were enslaved, shows what a range there was in levels of Southern enslavement. Some counties, the map explains, "appear comparatively light ... this arises from the preponderance of whites and free blacks in the large towns in these counties." The population of Orleans Parish, La., in one example, was 8.9 percent enslaved. Places that were rural but were located in mountainous areas devoid of plantations were similarly light-shaded: The people of Harlan County, Ky., were 2.3 percent enslaved.

Meanwhile, a dark belt of counties bordering the Mississippi River held more than 70 percent of their residents in slavery, with Tensas Parish, La., at 90.8 percent and Washington County, Miss., at 92.3 percent.

Historian Susan Schulten writes in her book *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century America* that during the 1850s many abolitionists used maps to show slavery's historical development and to illustrate political divisions within the South. (You can see many of those maps on the book's companion website.)

Though this map was simple, it showed the relationship between states' commitment to slavery and their enthusiasm about secession, making a visual argument about Confederate motivations.

Schulten writes that President Lincoln referred to this particular map often, using it to understand how the progress of emancipation might affect Union troops on the ground. The map even appears in the familiar Francis Bicknell Carpenter portrait *First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln*, visible leaning against a wall in the lower right-hand corner of the room.



"Map showing the distribution of the slave population of the Southern states of the United States. Compiled from the census of 1860. Drawn by E. Hergesheimer. Engr. by Th. Leonhardt." Library of Congress, American Memory Map Collections Click on the image to arrive at a zoomable version

See more of Slate's maps.

34

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The Colorful Posters That Motivated Jazz-Age Workers to Strive

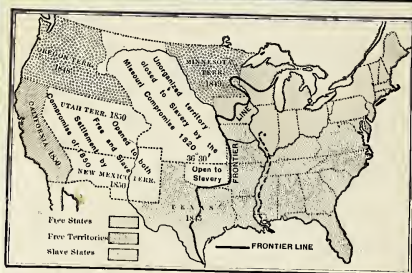
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What are these links?



STATUS OF SLAVERY BY THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

*"I was an
ex-slave... and
yet I was to
meet the most
exalted person
in this great
republic..."*



Two African Americans on
their meetings with Abraham Lincoln

Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth were both born in slavery, and both later met with Lincoln in the White House. Douglass (1817-1895) had been a companion to his master's son, and later worked as a house-servant in Baltimore, where slaves had more personal freedom than they did on the plantations. In Baltimore he learned to read and write, and was eventually able to escape to Massachusetts. There he discovered and developed a talent for public speaking, eventually becoming an influential abolitionist.

At the company's founding in 1905, The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company received permission to use Lincoln's name from Robert Todd Lincoln, the President's son. Sponsorship of historical research and programs through The Lincoln Museum began in 1928. Today, the tradition continues. This brochure was prepared by the museum staff and is made available to the public by Lincoln National Corporation, its affiliates and their local representatives.



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*"I was an
ex-slave... and
yet I was to
meet the most
exalted person
in this great
republic..."*



Two African Americans on
their meetings with Abraham Lincoln

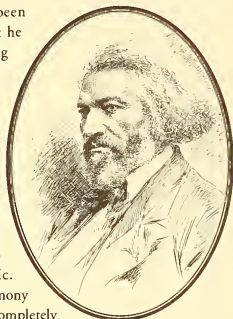
Sojourner Truth (1797? - 1883) lacked many of Douglass' opportunities, working as a field hand and never learning to read or write. Intense religious experiences, in which she heard God's voice, gave her unusual independence and strength. Despite her illiteracy, she was, like Douglass, a skillful public speaker, and was recognized as a religious leader as early as the 1830s. In 1843 she turned her attention to abolitionism, and in 1850 she began demanding equality for women as well.

Sojourner Truth



Since the mid-1850s Sojourner Truth had been living in Battle Creek, Michigan, and during the war she worked there to raise money for black soldiers. In 1864, she was inspired to make the cross-country trip to Washington so that she could meet the president. After the meeting she dictated a letter to Rowland Johnson describing her experience. She directed him to arrange for it to be published in the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (December 17, 1864). Although she had had to wait outside Lincoln's office for three and a half hours before he could see her, her letter betrays no annoyance at the inconvenience. "I had quite a pleasant time waiting until he was disengaged, and enjoyed his conversation with others; he showed as much kindness and consideration to the colored persons as to the white — if there was any difference, more. ... The president was seated at his desk. ... [After I was introduced,] he then arose, gave me his hand, made a bow, and said, 'I am pleased to see you.' ... I must say, and I am proud to say, that I never was treated by any one with more kindness and cordiality than were shown to me by that great and good man, Abraham Lincoln, by the grace of God President of the United States for four years more. He took my little book, and with the same hand that signed the death-warrant of slavery, he wrote as follows: '*For Aunty Sojourner Truth, Oct. 29, 1864. A. Lincoln.*' As I was taking my leave, he arose and took my hand, and said he would be pleased to have me call again. I felt that I was in the presence of a friend. ..."

Frederick Douglass



In the spring and summer of 1863 Douglass had been recruiting black soldiers for the army, but by August he was discouraged by the way black soldiers were being treated. (They received less pay than white soldiers, they could not become officers, and they risked being sold into slavery if captured by the Confederates.) Some of Douglass' friends convinced him to take his concerns to the president. In his autobiography, *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*, 1882, he describes the meeting: "I need not say that at the time I undertook this mission it required much more nerve than a similar one would require now. ... I was an ex-slave, identified with a despised race; and yet I was to meet the most exalted person in this great republic. ... Happily for me, there was no vain pomp and ceremony about [Lincoln]. I was never more quickly or more completely put at ease in the presence of a great man, than in that of Abraham Lincoln. ... As I approached and was introduced to him, he rose and extended his hand, and bade me welcome. I at once felt myself in the presence of an honest man — one whom I could love, honor and trust without reserve or doubt. Proceeding to tell him who I was, and what I was doing, he promptly, but kindly, stopped me, saying 'I know who you are, Mr. Douglass; Mr. Seward has told me all about you. Sit down, I am glad to see you.' ... He impressed me with the solid gravity of his character, by his silent listening not less than by his earnest reply to my words. ... Though I was not entirely satisfied with his views, I was so well satisfied with the man and with the educating tendency of the conflict, I determined to go on with the recruiting."

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